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DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

File No. 201/2/2/5

SUBJECT: SOUTH AFRICA: POLITICAL PARTIES: OSSEWA BRANDWAG

FORMER PAPERS.

LATER PAPERS.

ARCHIVAL ACTION.

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BASEMENT

File No.

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Career Africans

SOUTH AFRICA is currently advertising heavily in Australian newspapers to show that, really, black Africans aren't too averse to apartheid and that Australian trade sanctions will hurt them most.

The advertisements, placed by the First Bank of Africa, Capetown, each feature an African public servant or union leader pleading: "Don't kill us with kindness," or "Don't isolate us," or "Economic sanctions make me shudder."

Chief Minister L. M. Mantope, of the Bophuthatswana Government Service, for example, says: "I have often expressed my differences with the white Government of Pretoria in no uncertain terms. But the mere idea of total economic sanctions from abroad to assist us makes me shudder. We, the black people, will be the first to suffer."

Another public servant, Chief Executive Councillor M. G. Buthelezi, of the Kwazulu Government Service, points out: "Those who advocate trade sanctions and economic withdrawal to help my people and punish the whites in South Africa may be killing us with kindness.

"What we need is not disengagement but full foreign participation in South Africa's overall economic development to create more jobs, higher wages and better training opportunities."

Mr Buthelezi is at pains to stress: "I am no apologist for apartheid, but a realist who knows that a job may make the difference between living or starving for many black families in South Africa."

Mrs Lucy Mvubelo, general secretary of the National Union of Clothing Workers, takes a more pro-apartheid line than the others.

She says: "For years I have heard all the armchair proposals and expectations for removing the apartheid system and I must confess my dismay. Another, which has been suggested, did not seem desirable or effective for me as my union and members.

"Obviously, the [illegible] of foreign[illegible] attitudes have had an effect on John Vorster's Government. In the meantime, we look to South Africans and foreigners and give thanks for their efforts."

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201/2/2/5.

Financial Review
Sept 6.

WORLD BUSINESS

US companiesfind loopholes in South Africa's wage laws

NEW YORK TIMES News Service

A ONE-YEAR experiment by the Polaroid Corporation of the US to counter South Africa's discriminatory job and wage restrictions of its black majority is being successfully emulated by other American-owned subsidiaries there.

Although the wages paid to black workers in the Polaroid and some other American-company plants are still a fourth or less of those paid whites for comparable work, they are substantially more than the minimums set under South Africa's apartheid laws.

What American companies are doing amounts to a working-within-the-system to give at least token resistance to racial separation laws and doctrine. In the economic sphere these laws reserve better paying jobs to whites and set low minimums on wages paid to blacks.

But a growing shortage of skilled bauor has led to considerable flexibility in applying the job restrictions, not only by American-owned companies such as International Business Machines, Gillette, Pfizer, Pepsico, General Electric, Mobil and Ford. The Polaroid experiment, which started in 1970, has become a continuing policy.

Polaroid, which does business in South Africa through a distributor concern, Frank and Hirsch, has raised the pay of its black workers by 52 per cent in the last two years, according to Helmut M. Hirsch, managing director.

Emphasising that these and other benefits given black employees have been matched by substantial profits Hirsch said, "our changes were not charitable but were based purely on good business management practices."

A couple of years ago we had 98 black employees earning less than $100 a month. Now no one earns less than that. The average wages for blacks is now almost $180 a month, which is about $10 above the minimum considered adequate for an African family of six living in Johannesburg.

The top black employee is paid $500 a month."

Hirsch said that his company, under direction from Polaroid, provided job training, legal aid, health and educational assistance to black employees and members of their families.

"We have a company policy aimed at elimination of all discrimination against blacks and their rights as employees," he said.

"Drinking tea from the same cups might be of no significance elswhere in the world but it is here."

Hirsch said that many other American-owned companies, of which there are about 300 in South Africa, had been coming to the Polaroid distributor for advice on similar programs.

Denis Sanan, managing director of Gillete operations in South Africa, said, "We make it clear to our non-white employees that if they can demonstrate to us that they recognise the value of education and are prepared to face it responsibly then we'll pick up the tab and run with them all they way."

For some years government labour officials have been looking the other way as blacks have been trained and put into skilled work, such as construction and machine operation, legally reserved for whites. Higher income for blacks also adds to retail and other business earnings.

If anything the discomfiture and complaints by some South African concerns about higher wages paid blacks by their competitors has served to shift the spotlight of criticism over apartheid from government to the private sector.

Prime Minister John Vorster has repeatedly said that there is no law that prevents the white boss from paying higher wages to black employees. The legal minimums are drastically lower than wages now being paid by American companies but they have become a yardstick.

Polaroid's policy began in 1970 when the company was criticised by a group of its own black American employees for doing business in South Africa. The company responded with the assertion that it opposed apartheid but felt that it was doing more to counteract it by its progressive policies than by pulling

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The Age, 201/2/2/5.
The Australian
3/9/73

Don't kill us with kindness.

"Those who advocate trade sanctions and economic withdrawal to help my people and punish the whites in South Africa may be killing us with kindness. What we need is not disengagement, but full foreign participation in South Africa's overall economic development to create more jobs, higher wages and better training opportunities. I am no apologist for apartheid, but a realist who knows that a job may make the difference between living or starving for many black families in South Africa."

M. Gatsha Buthelezi

9th August 1973

Chief Executive Councillor M. G. Buthelezi,
Kwazulu Government Services.

For further information contact
The Economics Division. ***THE TRUST BANK OF AFRICA LIMITED,*** *31st Floor, Trustbank Centre, Heerengracht, Cape Town, South Africa.*

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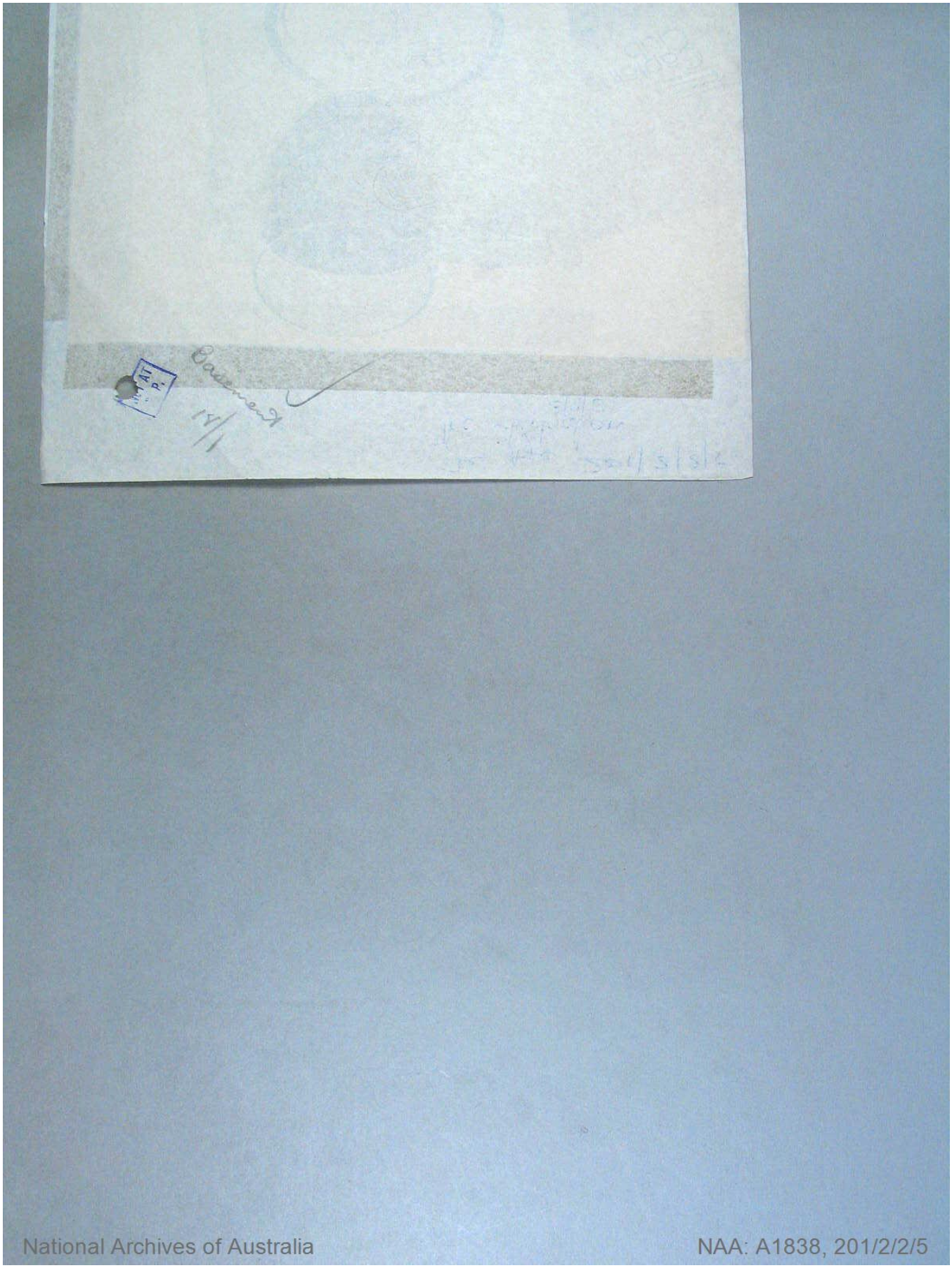

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JSA 2182/4

Foreign Office and Whitehall Distribution

SOUTH AFRICA
28 July, 1965
Section 1

THE EROSION OF JOB RESERVATION

Mr. McD. Gordon to Mr. Stewart. (*Received 28 July*)

SUMMARY

Economic expansion in South Africa is making increasingly difficult the application in the labour field of the Government's policy of "separate development" (*i.e.*, reserving the best paid jobs for Whites). (Paragraph 1.)

Africans face many obstacles in selling their labour, imposed both by law and White trade unions. Statutory job reservation in practice affects their opportunities less than union restrictions. In private industry the labour shortage has resulted in union agreement to a large-scale crossing of the colour bar by non-Whites, who receive the rate for the job. In the public sector, however, which contains the bulk of the less skilled Whites, the unions are still pressing for protection of their members from non-White competition. (Paragraphs 2–5.)

An experiment backed by the Mine Workers' Union in 11 gold mines, a traditional stronghold of job reservation, in freeing White miners from certain supervisory duties, has caused violent protest from a group of rebel miners. The Government has set up a Committee of Enquiry into the experiment, and will find difficulty in steering a course between antagonising the rebel miners and damaging the economy. (Paragraphs 6–8.)

A shortfall of 50,000 skilled and semi-skilled workers is expected this year. The hard core of White workers protected by job reservation are mainly incapable of training, and economic progress must depend on more training and employment of non-White workers. Greater dependence on the latter will make it increasingly difficult to continue to fob them off with an inferior political status. On the other hand, an economic recession would force the Government to push the non-Whites back down the industrial ladder, which would in turn lead to labour, and possibly political unrest. The longer the non-Whites enjoy their enhanced status, the more difficult it will be to put the clock back. (Paragraphs 9–12.)

(No. 31. Confidential) *Pretoria,*
22 July, 1965.

Sir,

I have the honour to report that during the period of post-war economic expansion in South Africa, White South Africans have succeeded in eating their cake and having it. Politically they have denied the vote to the non-White majority (except in a limited way to the Cape Coloureds and in the Transkei), and in the economic field they have reserved to themselves a monopoly of the most skilled and best-paid work, while profiting from an inexhaustible supply of low paid unskilled labour which is prohibited by legislation from organising itself for collective bargaining or from striking. It is often argued that, even if the South African Government manages to ensure separation of the races in the political and to a lesser extent the social spheres, normal economic pressures in an increasingly sophisticated economy will sooner or later present the Government with a choice between drastically slowing up expansion or lowering colour bars in commerce, industry and the public services. There have

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recently been some signs, which I propose to examine in this despatch, that this dilemma is now facing the Government in a more acute form than in the past; and that in the economic field, the policy of separate development is running into practical difficulties.

2. Opportunities for Africans to work in urban areas are controlled by a whole series of Acts restricting their rights both of residence and to sell their labour. They may not, for example, set up as painters, mechanics or shopkeepers in "White" areas. On top of these overriding controls, the industrial colour bar is imposed both through legislation in the form of job reservation and by trade union restrictions. Statutory job reservation was originally confined to the mining industry, but in 1956 the Minister of Labour was given unfettered powers to reserve any job for any racial group. In practice, apart from the mines, this power has been exercised only in relatively few industries and trades (notably the transport, building and motor industries) where local pressures have resulted in a number of detailed and complicated job determinations; and statutory job reservation is estimated to affect only 2 or 3 per cent of jobs. An example may be taken from Durban, where Africans may drive lorries carrying loads up to 14,000 lb., Indians and Coloureds up to 17,000 lb., but only Whites above 17,000 lb. In a number of industries where job reservation has not been introduced, certain categories of work may lawfully be done by workers of any racial group, provided that they are paid at the same rates as Whites. In practice, however, a result of the restrictions insisted on by most White skilled trade unions, the fact that African unions are not recognised, and the practical exclusion of Africans from apprenticeship, most skilled work has been the preserve of the White man; although in semi-skilled work more and more non-Whites, and particularly Coloureds and Indians, are being employed. The extent to which this is taking place is hard to estimate; the Government will not release figures, though it has them, and employers are reluctant to assist research designers to elicit them. Both fear that the publication of such information would lead to pressure from political zealots for restrictive action, which the Government would feel unable to resist, although it is quite willing to turn a blind eye to what is going on so long as this is not publicised.

3. The industrial colour bar, whether imposed by legislation or by unions, has been one of the chief means by which the Whites have maintained their privileged position in the economic activity of the country. The older generation still has ugly memories of the 1922 Rebellion, when the miners took up arms in protest against their replacement by cheaper African labour; and also of the hundreds of thousands of "poor Whites" who streamed to the cities in the 30s in search of work, for which their background gave them as ill a preparation as did that of the Africans. In order to provide them with an adequate standard of living, they were given State employment, particularly on the railways, and in the Civil Service. In this way, though their qualifications were often no better than those of the Africans, they could be paid higher wages.

4. The demand for labour in the relatively undeveloped economy of South Africa before the war was limited, and any Government elected on a purely White franchise was bound to give priority to employment of Whites. In the post-war era of industrial expansion, however, there has been more than enough work for the Whites, to the extent that there has been a severe shortage of skilled and semi-skilled labour of any racial group. Private industry has generally been able to adapt itself to these changed circumstances. Where White semi-skilled or even skilled labour was not available, it has employed non-Whites, having if necessary obtained exemption from a job reservation determination. Thus the Trade Union Council of South Africa estimates that in the steel and metal industries at least 12,000 non-Whites have crossed the colour bar and are earning equal pay with Whites; and in the Western Cape several of the newer factories are entirely manned by Coloureds, with only the top management remaining White. With some exceptions, the White workers, with no threat to their jobs or their wages, have acquiesced in this situation.

5. In the public sector, where reservation is maintained partly by legislation and partly by union action, the White workers have been less accommodating. In particular in the railways and the Post Office the trade unions have continued to try to preserve for Whites certain jobs requiring only modest skills. Nevertheless, even here, an estimated 10,000 non-Whites are doing semi-skilled operative work on the railways, and the Minister of Transport has said that,

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if the unions agree, he will allow the employment of non-White shunters. (As a result of union opposition to lowering the colour bar the Government has recently been recruiting shunters at great cost and no noticeable gain in efficiency from the United Kingdom.) In the Post Office, also, the shortage of postmen had led to an increasing use of non-Whites for the delivery of mail. The Minister of Posts and Telegraphs has said that non-Whites are only being used as temporary workers and that as soon as Whites are available they will get the jobs. This comment has not been taken seriously, least of all by the White Post Office workers' association.

6. But it is in the mines, with their bitter memories, that the progress of non-Whites has created most difficulties for the Government. The (White) Mine Workers' Union last year proposed to the Chamber of Mines that, in return for increased wages, their members should be freed from certain routine supervision of African labour. It was agreed that an experiment on these lines should be carried out in 11 gold mines in such a way that it benefited financially both the White miners and the African boss-boys in charge of working gangs. At the same time the employers gave an undertaking that no redundancy would result from the experiment. It does however involve a technical breach of a job reservation determination.

7. No publicity was given to the experiment until it was denounced in Parliament by a Right-wing Nationalist backbencher. This was the signal for a militant group of mine workers, who are traditionally Afrikaner, Nationalist and susceptible to arguments about the thin end of the wedge, to form a rebel Action Committee in opposition to the union. This committee has organised protest marches and attempted to intimidate officials of the union into resigning. The Government has set up a Committee of Enquiry into the experiment, which is due to report in August, and has tried to persuade the dissident miners to await the committee's report. Meanwhile a false report in a Nationalist paper to the effect that the Government had refused to allow a similar experiment to be carried out in the coal mines led to a one-day token strike by White miners in five coal mining collieries, in effect in favour of having certain of their duties taken over by Africans—a strike without precedent in South Africa.

8. The action of the rebels has placed the Government in an embarrassing dilemma. By misrepresenting the experiment, the rebels have gathered a lot of support, and many have threatened to vote against the Nationalist Party in the coming elections if the experiment is finally approved. On the other hand, so long as the price of gold remains fixed, the only way the mining companies can maintain their profits and avoid closing marginal mines is to increase production without increasing costs. The Government will be hard put to find a compromise which will neither injure the economy nor antagonise the rebels, and its handling of the situation may be significant for the future course of events in South Africa.

9. Although the gold mining industry is a special case because it cannot pass on increased production costs, other industries face similar labour problems. Already the Government-controlled Iron and Steel Corporation (ISCOR) is insisting on a relaxation of job reservation as a condition for improved wages for its White workers. A poll conducted by the Transvaal Chamber of Industries showed an expected national shortfall this year of 50,000 workers, mostly skilled and semi-skilled, and concluded that "with few exceptions, employers have indicated that the most effective and satisfactory means of expanding their manpower resources would be to train semi-skilled workers regardless of race to perform skilled work". In this, the employers have the support of the Trade Union Council of South Africa, representing nearly 200,000 workers, whose declared aims (motivated by fear of cheap labour rather than altruism) are the abolition of job reservation, the payment of the rate for the job, adequate industrial training for all races, and the recognition of Africans in trade unions. In fact it is widely recognised that job reservation continues to exist mainly to protect the interests and status of that comparatively small hardcore of White workers, whose votes are still important to the Government, but who, despite all their privileges, are incapable of being trained to compete with the non-Whites on basis of equality.

10. There can be no doubt that, despite the increasing flow of immigrants, the continued progress of the South African economy cannot be maintained without a further lowering of colour bars. The Government may recognise this openly by

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altering its own rules, or it may prefer to turn a blind eye to breaches of those rules. In this year's Parliamentary Session, a Minister admitted that the level of the colour bar could be adjusted: but the Government cannot disguise from itself the fact that the price of economic growth must be greater dependence on the non-White workers, and that every non-White who occupies a key job in industry represents a small, hidden restraint on its exercise of power. At the same time, as reactions to the mining experiment have shown, the Government must protect its flank from attacks by White backwoodsmen who raise the old cry that the Black man is stealing the White man's job.

11. If there should be any sort of economic recession, on the other hand, the primary objective of any South African Government would be to ensure that the Whites kept their jobs. Those non-Whites who were doing skilled or semi-skilled work would therefore inevitably be among the first to lose theirs. Among the most important reasons for the noteworthy absence of revolutionary zeal among urban African workers has been the fact that, to a much greater extent than in former colonial territories of Africa, White rule in South Africa has been accomponied by a steady and remarkable increase in non-White prosperity (even though the differential between Black and White wages has tended to increase in recent years). Despite all the obstacles placed in his way, the industrious and intelligent non-White worker has often attained a fair standard of living. If this was threatened, the Government would be faced with widespread discontent, which could spread from industrial unrest to a more general protest against the whole apartheid system.

12. The erosion of job reservation is thus of much more than only technical significance. For the first time, the Government's policy of separate development has produced, in the labour field, a conflict of White interests, between the employers and the efficient workers on the one hand and the nearly unemployable " poor Whites " on the other. So long as prosperity continues, the Government will probably allow non-Whites to continue to move up the industrial ladder. The more this process develops, the more difficult it will be to continue to fob them off with an inferior political status. If on the other hand there is an economic recession, the primary objective of the Government will be to ensure that the White electors keep their jobs, even at the cost of pushing non-Whites back down the ladder; but such action could be expected to lead to industrial unrest. And the longer non-Whites have been allowed to enjoy an enhanced status, the more difficult it will be to put back the clock.

13. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Washington and New York, to consular posts in South Africa, and to the Commander-in-Chief, S.A.S.A.

I have, &c.

D. McD. GORDON,

Chargé d'Affaires.

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DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANBERRA.

Name of Paper: The New York Times File No. 201/2/2/5

Published at: New York Date: 7th March, 1964

NAZIS FADE AWAY AS MALAN'S FOES

African Fascists Who Tried to Win Him Over in War Vanish as Party Power

By ALBION ROSS

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

CAPETOWN, South Africa, March 6—The South African National Socialist group, which the Hitler regime urged to rise against the Allies in World War II, has announced it will break up.

The group, the Ossewa Brandwag, early in the war had masses of adherents and staged military and political demonstrations throughout South Africa. Its publication, which had been appearing occasionally, has vanished.

The disappearance of the Ossewa Brandwag closes one of the stormiest chapters in the political career of Prime Minister Daniel F. Malan, whose refusal to bow to the dictates of the National Socialist and fascist-minded elements in the ranks of his own Afrikaner nationalist threatened at one point to wreck him politically.

Part of Dr. Malan's present predominance as leader of the Afrikaner nation that brought him to power comes from the fact that he was proved right and the National Socialists were proved wrong on the issue of parliamentary democracy. Nationalist Afrikaners during the war were swept off their feet by German victories. A large Fascist movement grew up here. The doctrine was that Britain would be conquered, that a republic would be declared in South Africa, independent of the British Commonwealth, and that parliamentary democracy was a lost cause.

Dr. Malan, then head of the Parliamentary Nationalist party, an Afrikaner group, indicated in public statements that he thought the Germans would win.

Where Dr. Malan and his National Socialist-minded supporters in the big Afrikaner fascist movement, the Ossewa Brandwag and similar organizations parted company was on the issue of parliamentary democracy. The Ossewa Brandwag, supported by certain other groups, succeeded in setting up a cultural and economic structure similar in many ways to that of a totalitarian state, in preparation for the Afrikaners' taking over power with the fall of Britain.

However, with the Allies' victories and the end of the war, the Ossewa Brandwag and other manifestations of the Afrikaner National Socialist movement waned.

The Nationalist election victory in 1948 completely crushed the fascist-minded leaders. The Ossewa Brandwag joined for a time with the Afrikaner party headed by Dr. Malan's present Finance Minister, Nicholaas C. Havenga.

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Memo. No. 550

PRETORIA.

1st October, 1952.

MEMORANDUM FOR:

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA. A.C.T. AUSTRALIA.

South Africa : Speech by the Prime Minister (Dr. D.F. Malan) on the 22nd September, 1952.

On the evening of 22nd September, 1952, at a public session of the Transvaal Congress of the Nationalist Party in Pretoria, the Prime Minister (Dr. D.F. Malan) spoke in Afrikaans for some two hours and twenty minutes on domestic and external affairs. In many respects the address resembled that which he recently gave to the Cape Provincial Congress of the Nationalist Party. As these two addresses were doubtless intended to give a lead to his party in the two provinces in which the fate of the Government will be determined at the general elections of 1953, I attach a copy of a translation of the Prime Minister's Pretoria address, made in the office from the Afrikaans-language report of it which appeared in "Die Transvaler" of the 23rd September, 1952. Translations of the speech in the English-language newspapers were scrappy and inadequate.

2. A summary of the Prime Minister's criticism of the United Nations was forwarded to the Department in cable No. 89 of 23rd September, 1952.

Registered file 201/2/1

Too long. Thanks

(K.T. Kelly)
OFFICIAL SECRETARY.

Return to Central file for file 201/2/5.

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SPEECH BY THE PRIME MINISTER (DR. D.F. MALAN) ON 22ND SEPTEMBER, 1952, AT PRETORIA AT THE TRANSVAAL CONGRESS OF THE NATIONAL PARTY.

"Our whole future depends on the outcome of the present struggle. It is an exceedingly serious period in our history. Our weal or our woe will depend on it.

Our survival as white (European) South Africa is at stake in this crisis. This crisis is a political crisis. It must be well understood that this is no economic crisis. On the contrary, our economic situation is thoroughly sound. Saboteurs in our country, in their thousands, wish to suggest to the outside world that we are heading for an economic crisis. What we really need is capital - not because there is any recession but in truth because progress is taking place on an unprecedented scale.

I believe that capital from other countries is now flowing into South Africa more quickly than it has for a long time. Difficulties in connection with capital are not due to a lack of faith, because England, which formerly loaned us moneys has not enough money for lending now. England today would gladly borrow from us.

In foreign countries it is also claimed especially that there is in this country a deliberate campaign of law breaking which the Government cannot control. I assure you that this is not so. It is contended that the country faces a bloodbath and revolution. I assure you that this is not true. The Government has a firm grip of the whole situation. There is no danger of our facing any such revolutionary situation. The Government can be relied upon to know everything that is happening, on the surface or in secret, and to be in a position to control the situation.

We must not have any illusions that we have only a constitutional crisis to deal with. If the Court of Appeal should decide in favour of the Government, it will not be the end of the crisis in South Africa.

The constitutional crisis is an exceedingly important one for South Africa. If Parliament has to lose the struggle, the implications would be terrible. The sovereignty of the people would vanish. The people are sovereign. We may not do or permit anybody to do the least damage to the sovereignty of the people. And therefore we cannot lose the struggle between the Parliament, because if that happens, the people loses its sovereignty. South Africa is today a sovereign, independent state and as free as any other country in the world.

We may allow no other nation to dominate us, however great that nation may already be. The struggle for sovereignty must be won. For the present we must adopt a wait and see attitude but I assure you that the sovereignty of Parliament shall be placed above all doubt and suspicion.

What steps will be taken when the Appeal Court has given its judgment, I cannot now say but I ask only one thing : trust the Government. Ultimately the highest sovereign power, namely the people, will itself decide this question at the election. As government, we place our life in your hands.

The constitutional crisis is only a part of a very much greater crisis.

That ..../....

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That crisis is none other than that brought about by the demand made on us especially by powers overseas, but also by powers in our own lands : namely that, in the interests of peace, we should abandon our policy of apartheid. It is demanded of us that we shall do away with all measures of separation based on colour.

For white (European) South Africa, it will mean that it will have no future any more; that the whites will be obliged to be an inferior race here; that the policy which was applied on the Gold Coast will be forced on South Africa. We already see what the consequences of that policy are. The natives of Nyassaland and Northern Rhodesia are now demanding that they shall be given nothing less than the constitution of the Gold Coast. That is also what is now being demanded here.

Among the Natives and, more or less, among the non-Europeans in general there is an agitation in progress, to such an extent that they have organised a resistance movement. It has nothing to do with the constitutional crisis. They make demands on the Government and, if it does not satisfy them - and there is no indication that they will be satisfied - they deliberately break the so-called unjust laws. This they are doing on an increasing scale.

They have even named a date on which the laws must be repealed, even by a special sitting of Parliament. They will have nothing whatever to do with discrimination on the ground of colour in South Africa. They are against the Group Areas Act because they wish to live wherever they want to. They will have no limitation on their movements by day or by night. In other words, the laws which the National government, by order of the people, has placed on the Statute Book are all discriminatory and must be abolished.

They demand that the Law for the Suppression of Communism be repealed because the Communists are their confederates. In other words they profess that Communism is no danger.

Our political opponents place the blame for this resistance movement on the Nationalist government. All that I can say about it here is that this resistance movement, although it did not reach the same height, already existed under the previous government. The difficulties with the Natives' Representative Council, which, by virtue of a law instituted jointly by two great parties, had already begun under the previous government. Then the members of that body began to go on strike : they continue on strike. That government also included Mr. Koos Struis.* Excuse me for calling him that, but I also have represented the constituency of Calvinia, from which he comes, and he is not known by any other name there. If that is incorrect, I beg to be forgiven.

To that government the Natives said that they were not interested in what further benefits were going to be conferred upon them or what further services were going to be given to them. They want nothing less than the abolition of all separation based on colour. The National Government has been of the opinion that it cannot help a body which will not hold discussions and which still remains on strike. It then established other machinery.

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* a popular pun upon the name of Mr. Jacobus (Koos) G.N. STRAUSS, the leader of the Opposition.

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Under the previous Government Natives in their face thousands went on strike on the Rand so that it had to ~~bear~~ even ~~with~~ bloodshed. Now it is said that the responsibility for the resistance is ours.

If guilt must be attributed, our political opponents cannot wash their hands in innocence. They have a powerful press, the English press. I do not know if there is a press anywhere in the world which has so much power in its hands and such a stranglehold as the English press in South Africa.

A man can take the English newspaper from A to Z and show me one which is not liberalistic. They stand, in other words, for equality between white and non-white. That is the view they preach every day.

The United Party's whole fight is against apartheid but have they anything better to put in its place? They said a couple of times: No, but we are going to get something in its place. Three or four times they tried to formulate a policy and on each occasion it was as dead as a doornail the following day.

Advocate Strauss got up here in Pretoria and in Queenstown and said he was announcing the policy of the United Party.

But then Mr. Ford, the Torch leader in Natal got up and demanded of the Leader of the Opposition : Tell me what your policy on the colour question is?

The Leader of the Opposition and his followers say that apartheid means the oppression of the Natives. Is it any wonder that the non-Europeans are beginning to believe that they are oppressed and claim that they are justified in challenging the Government and the laws of the land?

But the United Party has been absorbed in a greater front, the "United Front" and what is its policy? I then point to what Mr. Ford said. He asked to be assured if Mr. Strauss accepted the policy of equality.

With his eyes on the elections, Advocate Strauss thought that he could improve his prospects if he made a gesture towards the Government and several concessions. He said that they had rightly voted in Parliament against the Group Areas Act and the Immorality Act but they would now accept them if they came into power.

Hardly had this been said when a reply was made by Sailor Malan, the leader of the Torch Commando. He is not related to me but he sets a good example to many English-speakers. He comes from Wellington but is very busy learning Afrikaans. Sailor Malan said the rights of the individual were involved, for he may no longer marry whom he wishes. Advocate Gordon of the Torch Commando has publicly said that if the United Party comes into power and does not repeal the Immorality and Group Areas Acts, the Torch Commando will get even with it. These are the sources from which the resisters obtain moral support. It is not only the United Party which says the fault lies with the Government. The resisters are also encouraged by the other partner in the "United Front". Mr. Kane-Berman said some time ago that the Torch Commando would protest against the laws of the Government and that, if the Government did not give way, the country would be paralysed. This is what the resisters want to do.

The ..../....

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The Springbok Legion, which is a subsection of the Torch Commando and the old ally of the United Party, says that the country must be paralysed and that the Europeans (whites) cannot do it alone. The non-Europeans (non-whites) must conjointly act and help. Between the United Front and the resisters there is a silent alliance.

If the United Party now places the blame on the Government, it is (uttering) an untruth. The United Party must itself bear a great part of the blame.

The question is now being mooted as to the extent to which the National Party and the United Party can reach an understanding on the colour problem. Whereas the United Party now says that the problem ought to be taken out of party politics, it is not the first time that co-operation has been offered. Co-operation was offered by the National Party a long while ago and four times altogether. The National Party wanted the question - the question of the Natives, the Coloureds and the Indians - to be tackled jointly and as a whole. Co-operation was four time offered and four times refused.

The reason for the United Party's refusal was that the National Party wished to discuss the matter on the basis of apartheid. I made that stipulation because apartheid had been the traditional policy as long as white civilisation existed. I realise that, if I had not made that stipulation, the discussions would have got nowhere.

After that refusal I had only one course left and that was to go to the people. In 1948 the people said they wanted apartheid. In 1949 they did so again. Moreover the Government has not lost a by-election. The people have not regretted putting a Government into power which implemented apartheid.

Now the United Party is again saying: "We will co-operate but without apartheid". If the National Party were to do so, it would be unfaithful to the people and would be guilty of treachery against South Africa. Among the Opposition are many Afrikaans-speakers and English-speakers who favour apartheid.

In 1948 a fairly large number of English-speakers voted for the National Party on account of apartheid. At the next election the number will be much greater. With the exception of Natal there is support for apartheid in all the provinces. Natal is becoming hysterical over apartheid. The reason for the hysteria is that the Afrikaans-speakers are united and have come into power. The English-speakers became frightened of the Afrikaans-speakers. There is not the slightest atom of truth in the view that the English-speakers will lose their rights.

Let me now make a gesture to Natal. Let us go forward with the execution of the policy of apartheid. But, if Natal feels so strongly against it, let us then, if Natal so wishes, make an exception. We shall give Natal the right, if it wishes, to carry on without apartheid.

I therefore ask the Provincial Council of Natal to make a request to us to exempt Natal from the operation of apartheid. I have made the gesture and I await the answer.

As far ...../.....

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As far as foreign affairs are concerned, an agitation has been begun against South Africa such as perhaps has never been launched against any other country. A world-agitation against our country has been set in motion. It is obvious that a cloud of pressmen is obscuring our sky. What are they up to? In most cases it happens that they have come for the purpose of sending overseas horror stories which are dished up here. For a great deal (of what they write) I cannot completely condemn them. They don't know Afrikaans. English publications here are almost always condemnatory of the Government and they become victims of them, because they don't come into contact with the Afrikaans section of the people. The information they get is one-sided. They meet the Heaton Nicholls or jingos and political fossils who have no idea how far we have developed.

However, there are also powers abroad which do their best to ensure that there shall be no discrimination on the ground of colour and the U.N.O. is in the centre of these powers.

The U.N.O. goes so far as to meddle in our affairs. Some countries encourage lawbreaking here in our land and are even giving monetary help to the law-breakers.

Through its right of veto, Russia has been placed in a position to dominate the whole organisation. It has exercised its right of veto 52 times.

The U.N.O. has done a wrong to the white nations of Europe. For a thousand years the white nations of Europe have led and ruled the world. Now the other nations are strongly represented in the United Nations; but, because Russia has put down its foot, Europe is very weakly represented . Several European countries are not admitted as members. This is an injustice to them.

Now the United Nations appropriates to itself the moral right to meddle in our domestic affairs.

In Russia, however, there is no freedom of speech nor indeed is there any freedom to remain silent. If you are accused in Russia, there is no court in which you can plead your case. Without a hearing, thousands are put against a wall and shot through the head. More than a million German prisoners of war are obliged to work there as slaves. Does the United Nations open its mouth to protest against what is going on in Russia? No, they have an unholy respect for what takes place behind the Iron Curtain. What right have they then to attack and damn us in South Africa? By its meddling the United Nations is violating the provisions of its own charter.

On a former occasion, when the U.N.O. was called into being I warned that the right of veto would be misused and I warned against the possibility that the U.N.O. might meddle with the internal affairs of its member-states. At that time, as Leader of the Opposition, I warned the late General Smuts, the creator of the U.N.O. I said that South Africa reserved the incontestable right to withdraw from the organisation, if it thought that course desirable. In becoming a member, Australia had protected itself and had made it universally known that it was, and would be, its policy to keep Australia white.

I will ...../....

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I will call a witness against those attacking us from outside and against those who said it is our fault and then tell us it is our duty to abandon apartheid - in other words, that we must bow down to the will of the U.N.O. Against those people - the people of the United Party and the United Front, I will call a witness. I will call General Smuts as witness that we must never yield.

There was a tragedy in the life of General Smuts. He was one of the architects of the U.N.O. He was that organisation's first and greatest victim. There was no one whom that organisation humiliated more than him. He ultimately saw that what he had helped to call into being was a Frankenstein-monster. He could not give a soul to that structure which he fashioned. That structure has turned on its makers with monstrous power. General Smuts spoke candidly about the U.N.O. in the Senate. With reference to circumstances which are exactly the circumstances of today, he asked whether we must submit to what the UN.O. wants.

General Smuts spoke with reference to a motion of Senator Basner. The latter had asked that the social, economic and political structure of the Union should be changed because it was contrary to the Charter of the United Nations. He referred especially to the colour question, (saying that) if South Africa did not take action, the U.N.O. would enforce punitive measures.

Thereupon General Smuts said that the U.N.O. no doubt had begun badly and from the beginning had chosen the wrong path. A change was now occurring which people did not understand : the leadership of Western Civilisation is actually disappearing. New ideologies were taking its place. It is only incidental that South Africa is the butt of the attacks. South Africa will stand behind the U.N.O. if it upholds its charter and does not stick its nose into the internal affairs of countries. If it does not do so, said General Smuts, there will be chaos in the world.

The time will speedily arrive when the nations will realise that it is not only little South Africa that feels the imprint of the harrow. In India there are 50 to 60 million people oppressed.

Now I ask the followers of General Smuts : If his standpoint was that we should not yield, why place the blame upon us if the outside world slanders us. Why leave General Smuts in the lurch?

It has been predicted that the U.N.O. is not finished with us, that it will lay charges against us and that this year the stormiest attack will be made upon us. Must we from year to year go to the U.N.O. only for the purpose of being abused? South Africa's self-respect forbids it.

More and more the feeling begins to take root among us that it is absurd that our troops should be shot dead in Korea and that we should be spending millions of pounds there out of loyalty to the U.N.O., while on the other hand South Africa should year after year be reviled by the United Nations Organisation.

Besides the U.N.O., the British Labour Party has also meddled in our affairs. Attlee, Bevan and Morrison have even attended meetings at which a protest was made that South Africa had declared Michael Scott a prohibited immigrant at a time when the Government had received information from overseas that he had connections with the British Communist Party.

If a ..../....

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If a quarter of a million Indians in South Africa who live in luxury, can obtain the support of the U.N.O., why can the oppressed not get it?

People mean, General Smuts said, that slavery is still to be seen in South Africa and that the non-Europeans are exploited for the sake of economic profit. That is the attitude of many people overseas and even of some South Africans. The propaganda emanates from South Africa. The sources from which it comes are corrupt and polluted, General Smuts said. Let us do the right thing and not be afraid of punitive measures. It will not give us chicken flesh. So said General Smuts.

I repeat that we shall not brook any interference from the British Labour Party. If a British Government carries on like the British Labour Party, it will deeply affect and confuse our relations with Britain. We will not then be able to co-operate. We want a Republic. It will come. If there is such meddling, we need not be in a hurry. They will bring it about for us. The Republic may come more quickly than we think. It may come along another road than the one we have proposed, namely from the British Government. A large section of the English-speakers belonging to the United Party will also not tolerate other countries wiping their dirty feet on us.

A hard and rising road lies in front of us. It will demand all our wisdom, patriotism and determination, and greater sacrifices than have been necessary for years. All I can say is: we count on you. You and I believe in our God.

The wide world knows from the history of South Africa of what stuff Afrikanerdom is made. Wherefore, stand together. We have come so far and it was not too soon that Afrikaner unity was reached last year. Stand together. Remain together and open your arms to the hundreds and thousands of Afrikaans-speakers and English-speakers who hold the same opinion of apartheid and who must still come. And hold your course".

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HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR AUSTRALIA - SOUTH AFRICA.

NEWSPAPER EXCERPT.

From: Pretoria News

Published at: Pretoria

Date: 2-12-48

O.B. LEADER SUPPORTS HAVENGA TO HILT

MOVEMENT NOT LARGE IN NUMBERS

(By Our Parliamentary Representative)

In an exclusive interview in Brakpan to-day, the Commandant-General of the Ossewa-Brandwag, Dr. J. F. J. van Rensburg, defined his position in the present political situation in South Africa.

"As a member of the Afrikaner Party," declared Dr van Rensburg, "I support Mr. Havenga to the hilt."

Answering the question about the large number of members of the O.B present as delegates at the A.P congress, Dr. van Rensburg emphasised that they were there as members of the A.P. They had been accepted by the A.P., not as members of the O.B., but as ordinary members of the party.

He was convinced that they would continue to give the same loyalty to the A.P. as they had done in the past.

"The O.B. is not large numerically, but it is in quality," declared Dr. van Rensburg "The members are active people, but as members of the O.B. they are not interested in any political party.

They are members of the A.P. because they believe in the leadership of Mr. Havenga."

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National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/5

HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR AUSTRALIA - SOUTH AFRICA.

NEWSPAPER EXCERPT.

From: Rand Daily Mail

Published at: Johannesburg

Date: 1-11-48.

NAT. HOSTILITY TO O.B. THREATENS PACT WITH A.P.

BY OUR POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

UNLESS a reconciliation is effected soon between the Prime Minister, Dr. D. F. Malan, as leader of the Nationalist Party, and Dr. J. F. J. van Rensburg, Commandant-General of the Ossewa Brandwag, the relationship between the Ossewa Brandwag and the Nationalists will deteriorate to a point at which it will unsettle the Afrikaner-Nationalist Party election agreement.

Ossewa Brandwag circles are preparing to face a Nationalist boycott of all Afrikaner Party Provincial election candidates who are members of the Ossewa Brandwag.

The Nationalist Party Divisional Committee in Ventersdorp has decided not to support an Ossewa Brandwag—Afrikaner Party candidate for the seat in spite of the fact that Ventersdorp has been allocated to the Afrikaner Party by the Transvaal Executive of the Nationalist Party.

Ossewa Brandwag circles have reason to believe that this may only be the beginning of a nation-wide campaign by Nationalist divisional committees to boycott the Ossewa Brandwag.

VAN RENSBERG IN PRETORIA

Dr. Van Rensburg arrived in Pretoria over the week-end, and there was a possibility that he would meet Dr. Malan and Mr. Havenga in order to settle the dispute. He is not particularly keen to meet Dr. Malan, but would do so if pressed by Mr. Havenga.

The antagonistic attitude of the Nationalists toward Afrikaner Party members who are O.B.s will be raised at the national congress of the Afrikaner Party in Brakpan at the beginning of December.

Mr. Havenga will open the congress, and Dr. Van Rensburg, together with many other prominent O.B.s who are members of the party will attend the congress.

REFUSE TO WITHDRAW

The Nationalists refuse to withdraw their candidate for Mossel Bay in the Provincial elections although this seat has been allocated to the Afrikaner Party which has also nominated a candidate.

Mr. Havenga has made strong representations to Dr. Malan on the ground that the Nationalists in the Cape have violated the election agreement.

Any hope entertained by Dr. Malan that Mr. Havenga might repudiate the Ossewa Brandwag has vanished, and O.B.s in increasing numbers are joining the Afrikaner Party without relinquishing their Ossewa Brandwag status.

There were indications at the Nationalist Party Cape congress in Port Elizabeth that the party may revise its attitude about accepting Ossewa Brandwag members.

The position has, however, so deteriorated that reconciliation could only be brought about by a personal appeal from Dr. Malan to Dr. Van Rensburg. If there is to be a next move, it lies with Dr. Malan.

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HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR AUSTRALIA - SOUTH AFRICA.

NEWSPAPER EXCERPT.

From: THE CAPE ARGUS

Published at: CAPE TOWN

Date: AUGUST 13, 1948

LEADER OF O.B. JOINS AFRIKANER PARTY

Dr. van Rensburg Enters the Havenga Fold

(The Argus Parliamentary Correspondent)

THE Commandant-General of the Ossewabrandwag, Dr. J. F. J. van Rensburg, and Mrs. van Rensburg have joined the Afrikaner Party. This follows the decision of the Groot Raad of the organisation on July 28 strongly to recommend all members of the O.B. to join the Afrikaner Party, so as to play their full part in preventing "liberalist and Communist forces from regaining power."

In joining the Afrikaner Party, members of the Ossewabrandwag retain the identity of their organisation and do not surrender any of their principles.

They continue to stand for and work for the abilition of the party system, occupational representation in an authoritarian republican government, citizenship for "assimilable" white people only, gradual racial segregation, co-operation with "recognised" churches to replace liberalism with "Christian Nationalism," removal of capitalist influence, control of sources of wealth by the State, and replacement of Communism by "Christian Socialism."

NO SPECIAL POSITION

The chairman of the Afrikaner Party, Mr. Harm Oost, M.P. for Pretoria District—in which area, incidentally, exists one of the strongest O.B. commands — says that Dr. van Rensburg has joined as an ordinary member of the Parys branch of the Afrikaner Party, and in spite of the following which he may or may not bring with him into the party, he holds no special position.

It had been rumoured that Dr. van Rensburg was to be second-in-command to Mr. Havenga, but Mr. Oost says this not so.

It has also been rumoured that Dr. van Rensburg would not be averse to a senatorship when a vacancy occurs, and that this might lead him to a Cabinet post, possibly the Ministry of Defence, for which he has qualifications.

NO VACANCIES

Mr. Oost says he knows nothing of any such suggestion, and there are, anyway, no vacancies in the Senate except as a representative of the Natives of the Transvaal and Free State.

Anyone who subscribes to the principles of the Afrikaner Party may join it, says Mr. Oost, and the Afrikaner Party is willing to accept members of the O.B. without their giving up the principles of their organisation.

Mr. Oost says the Afrikaner Party regards those principles as harmless. The O.B.'s insistence on a partyless state means no more (he says) than a reversion to the political practice of the old republics, where there was no caucus rule and where a man voted according to the dictates of his conscience.

INTERPRETATIONS

Various interpretations are being put on this move that has been made by the Groot Raad of the O.B., and on the Afrikaner Party's ready acceptance of it.

One observation is that it will make very little difference to the Afrikaner Party's character, since it has always been dependent on O.B. support.

Another is that if Dr. van Rensburg brings the bulk of his organisation into the A.P. with him — and the follow-my-leader principle is strongly rooted in the O.B.—then it is bound to give the Afrikaner Party an authoritarian flavour.

Yet another is that O.B. spokesmen are being very critical of the treatment which the Afrikaner Party is receiving at the hands of the Nationalists, that the O.B. has itself had a long quarrel with the Nationalist Party, and that its influence within the Afrikaner Party may make the Nationalist-Afrikaner Party alliance more difficult.

PROFESS TO BE HAPPY

Meanwhile, members of the Afrikaner Party profess to be happy in their alliance with the Nationalists, but there is no suggestion of uniting the two parties into one.

They continue to hold separate caucuses, and the A.P. continues to establish its own branches, even in Nationalist areas such as George.

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National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/5

HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR AUSTRALIA - SOUTH AFRICA.

NEWSPAPER EXCERPT.

From: THE CAPE ARGUS

Published at: CAPE TOWN

Date: AUGUST 13, 1948.

Unwelcome Guest?

THE official organ of the Ossewabrandwag announces that Dr. J. F. J. van Rensburg, the Commandant-General of that body, has joined the Parys branch of the Afrikaner Party. The news of so notable an accession of strength should be received with happy smiles by Mr. Havenga and Dr. Malan. Or should it? For Dr. van Rensburg's presence in the Afrikaner Party is probably about as welcome as the snow in harvest. All seems quiet to-day on the Government front, yet the forces marshalling there constitute a most extraordinary collection of political incongruities and incompatibilities. The O.B.s who once swore they would have nothing to do with politics are now being urged by their leaders to hive in the Afrikaner Party. So Mr. Havenga, who insists that he fights for democracy, finds himself leading a growing number of people who repudiate his principles and give their allegiance not to him but to rival commanders. And Dr. Malan, who still refuses to have O.B.s in the ranks of his own party, is now kept in office by the very people he disowned. Agreement may, it is said, be made more precious by disagreement; but how conformity can be achieved by throwing together contraries and incompatibles we confess we do not know. There is an old story that the great Duke of Wellington, after reviewing one of his regiments, turned to its commanding officer and said: "Colonel, I don't know how those fellows strike you, but frankly they frighten me." Dr. Malan must be beginning to look at the forces marching behind him with something of the feeling of the Iron Duke.

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HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR AUSTRALIA - SOUTH AFRICA.

NEWSPAPER EXCERPT.

From: THE SUNDAY TRIBUNE.

Published at: DURBAN

Date: 18TH JULY 1948

BLOW AT TAXPAYERS

Interned Men Are Invited To Claim

(Sunday Tribune Correspondent)

JOHANNESBURG, Saturday.

FOLLOWING negotiations between Dr. Hans van Rensburg, Commandant-General of the Ossewa-Brandwag, and Mr. C. R. Swart, Minister of Justice, people who were interned in the Union during the war for political reasons and subversive activities have been asked to present claims to the Government for any financial losses suffered as a result of their internment.

They have been told to limit the amount of a claim for individual losses to £2,000.

Instigator of the scheme is a German South African, a prominent member of the O-B, with the rank of "Major." He was interned in both world wars.

The move will cost taxpayers tens of thousands of pounds, since hundreds of people were interned during the war.

I learn that payment on claims will not be made without the sanction of Parliament, but this will probably be dealt with as a matter of urgency when Parliament meets next month.

Members of the Ossewa-Brandwag believe that Mr. Swart will personally handle the affair in Parliament on behalf of the ex-internees.

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HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR AUSTRALIA - SOUTH AFRICA.

NEWSPAPER EXCERPT.

From: CAPE TIMES

Published at: CAPE TOWN

Date: JULY 5, 1948.

O.B. LEADER AND NEXT ELECTION

"FULL SUPPORT FOR GOVERNMENT"

THE Ossewabrandwag dare not stand aside from the next general election. It will support the Government to the best of its ability. Dr. J. F. J. van Rensburg, Commandant-General, outlined this policy when he addressed a private meeting of O.B. officers at Maitland last week.

The report of the meeting, published in the current issue of Die O.B.—the movement's official organ—states that the Ebenezer Hall was crowded by an attendance of about 300.

Officers from as far as Worcester and Swellendam had been ordered to attend, but in addition some came from as far as the Sandveld and the banks of the Orange River.

"Among those present were a considerable number of public servants who, after seven years' exile, could show off again with an officer's badge of rank on the arm," the report reads.

RETURN TO THE FOLD

Dr. van Rensburg announced that those public servants who were "honourably discharged" during 1941 (because of the Government's ban on civil servants being members of the O.B.), had now been automatically reinstated as members.

He explained that thousands of active members were affected. Officers, he said, must immediately issue their membership cards, unless they themselves chose not to resume membership.

The O.B. had already found that public servants, specially railway officials, were once more taking an active part in the movement. Some had already attained the rank of officer and were busy signing up members.

THE NEXT ELECTION

Dr. van Rensburg appealed particularly to O.B. members to join the Afrikaner Party as a means of helping in the next general election, which might come about within 18 months.

Another report in the same issue of Die O.B. says that the Afrikaner Party is making fresh headway in the Western Cape. It has received great impetus through Dr. F. D. du T. van Zyl —"general" in command of all Ossewabrandwagters in this area —having joined the party.

It is also reported that Dr. van Rensburg addressed a meeting near Dundee, which was attended at short notice by about 150 officers, representing the whole of Natal. His address was similar to that given at Maitland.

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HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR AUSTRALIA - SOUTH AFRICA.

NEWSPAPER EXCERPT.

From: THE CAPE ARGUS

Published at: CAPE TOWN

Date: JUNE 28, 1948.

THE CONTEMPORARY PRESS

Speeches of Released Men at Pretoria O.B. Banquet

THE "O.B." (Cape Town) carries a report of the Ossewabrandwag banquet to the four prisoners released by the Nationalist Government. The report is headed, "Followed Republican Laws."

"Each of the guests of honour got deafening applause when he spoke. Their speeches were repeatedly interrupted by loud applause.

"Van Blerk declared that they had been spared the utter humiliation of not being shown mercy by Harry Lawrence, but by a Nationalist Government.

"He was thankful, too, that another humiliation had been spared them, namely, that they had received no reduction of their punishment from the visiting British king.

"He thanked the Government for their courage in releasing them, but also expressed his grief because another comrade, Eric Holm, had not been released . . .

"By beginning his speech with, "Goelenaand, liewe luisteraars in Suid-Afrika" ("Good evening, dear listeners in South Africa"), Giel Pienaar provoked extraordinary enthusiasm.

"He declared that their actions in Germany should not be regarded as those of German agents. They acted according to the dictates of the conscience of every right-thinking Nationalist Afrikaner."

In the course of another report, denying that Leibbrandt had been invited to the banquet, the O.B. says:

"Strong police guards were held in readiness, but the O.B., irrespective of the threats, looked after its own protection and well-trained guards, under O.B. command, guarded the locality to see that 'uninvited guests' could be thrown out without further ado."

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HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR AUSTRALIA
IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

NEWSPAPER EXCERPT

From THE NATAL MERCURY

Published at DURBAN

Date JUNE 19, 1948.

"FASCIST PATTERN IS CLEAR"—M.P.

Nats. Lift Ban On State Jobs For O.Bs. And Broederbond

By Our Political Correspondent

WHILE the volume of protests against the recent release of Robey Leibbrandt and four other political prisoners grows daily throughout South Africa, the Nationalist Government yesterday followed up their action by repealing measures which prohibited civil servants from belonging to the Broederbond and the Ossewabrandwag.

SWART ACTS AGAIN

A proclamation in a Government Gazette extraordinary yesterday, counter-signed by the Minister of Justice, Mr. C. R. Swart, repeals regulations published under War Measure No. 40 of 1945.

'Power Behind Party'

THESE regulations are concerned with associations to which State employees may not belong and the proceedings in which State employees may not participate.

It was under these regulations that the United Party Government banned State employees from being members of the Ossewabrandwag — militant, anti-democratic Afrikaner organisation — and the Broerderbond — Afrikaner secret society.

Resigned

Mr. W. C. du Plessis, the Nationalist who defeated General Smuts at Standerton in the General Election, resigned from the Civil Service because of this ban on membership of the Broerderbond.

The Minister of the Interior and of Posts and Telegraphs, Dr. T. E. Donges, is vice-chairman of the Broerderbond.

Commenting last night on the Government's latest action, Mr. J. R. Sullivan, United Party M.P. for Durban Berea, told me:

"The lifting of the ban on State employees, permitting them freely to be members of the Broerderbond and Ossewabrandwag follows logically on the release of Leibbrandt and others.

"Intolerant"

"It was expected. It was part of the price the Government have to pay to implement their election bargain with these powerful organisations.

a Broederbond member to get the Party nomination in the election.

"Two former members refused to do this; they are not now in Parliament.

"We are now faced with a position that behind the Nationalist Party is the Broederbond; behind the Afrikaner Party the Ossewabrandwag.

"Linked with both parties is a powerful youth movement with ramifications throughout the Union.

"The whole Fascist pattern is clearly shaping itself with amazing speed.

Provocation

"From now on," Mr. Sullivan declared, "freedom given to these organisations will mean a momentum to their membership and motives and by provocation can precipitate serious social conditions in the Union."

Mr. E. C. Wilks, M.E.C. and honorary organiser of the United Party in Natal, deplored the repeal of regulations which have as their objects keeping the Civil Service clear of political influence.

Mr. L. R. Caney, K.C., chairman of the Provincial Executive of the United Party in Natal, said:

"This latest act is in accordance with the general attitude of the present Government which seem to favour organisations which the previous Government regarded as tending to subversive action.

Apprehensive

"The present Government seem

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Nats. Lift Ban On State Jobs For O.Bs. And Broederbond

By Our Political Correspondent

WHILE the volume of protests against the recent release of Robey Leibbrandt and four other political prisoners grows daily throughout South Africa, the Nationalist Government yesterday followed up their action by repealing measures which prohibited civil servants from belonging to the Broederbond and the Ossewabrandwag.

SWART ACTS AGAIN

A proclamation in a Government Gazette extraordinary yesterday, counter-signed by the Minister of Justice, Mr. C. R. Swart, repeals regulations published under War Measure No. 40 of 1945.

'Power Behind Party'

THESE regulations are concerned with associations to which State employees may not belong and the proceedings in which State employees may not participate.

It was under these regulations that the United Party Government banned State employees from being members of the Ossewabrandwag — militant, anti-democratic Afrikaner organisation — and the Broerderbond — Afrikaner secret society.

Resigned

Mr. W. C. du Plessis, the Nationalist who defeated General Smuts at Standerton in the General Election, resigned from the Civil Service because of this ban on membership of the Broerderbond.

The Minister of the Interior and of Posts and Telegraphs, Dr. T. E. Donges, is vice-chairman of the Broerderbond.

Commenting last night on the Government's latest action, Mr. J. R. Sullivan, United Party M.P. for Durban Berea, told me:

"The lifting of the ban on State employees, permitting them freely to be members of the Broerderbond and Ossewabrandwag follows logically on the release of Leibbrandt and others.

"Intolerant"

"It was expected. It was part of the price the Government have to pay to implement their election bargain with these powerful organisations.

"When General Hertzog castigated the Broerderbond he did so because he had had some experience of its powerful influence when closely related to the Government.

"The Nationalist Party," continued Mr. Sullivan, "will gradually become, not the independent governing body of South Africa, but the instrument of strong sectional organisations with an ideology that is racial and intolerant.

"The Broederbond formulates the philosophy of nationalism. It is the real power behind the throne.

"It has penetrated 100 per cent. into the Nationalist Party and it is widely believed that every Nationalist member had to be a Broederbond member to get the Party nomination in the election.

"Two former members refused to do this; they are not now in Parliament.

"We are now faced with a position that behind the Nationalist Party is the Broederbond; behind the Afrikaner Party the Ossewabrandwag.

"Linked with both parties is a powerful youth movement with ramifications throughout the Union.

"The whole Fascist pattern is clearly shaping itself with amazing speed.

Provocation

"From now on," Mr. Sullivan declared, "freedom given to these organisations will mean a momentum to their membership and motives and by provocation can precipitate serious social conditions in the Union."

Mr. E. C. Wilks, M.E.C. and honorary organiser of the United Party in Natal, deplored the repeal of regulations which have as their objects keeping the Civil Service clear of political influence.

Mr. L. R. Caney, K.C., chairman of the Provincial Executive of the United Party in Natal, said:

"This latest act is in accordance with the general attitude of the present Government which seem to favour organisations which the previous Government regarded as tending to subversive action.

Apprehensive

"The present Government seem to be set on reversing all legislative measures tending towards security of the peace.

"It is a matter for serious comment that the Government hasten to make important moves of this nature, and other moves, in the short time since they have been in office without reference to Parliament; and it leaves a very unsatisfied state of mind on the part of the people who cannot but be apprehensive at the actions of the Government which set democratic institutions at naught."

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HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR AUSTRALIA
IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

NEWSPAPER EXCERPT

From RAND DAILY MAIL

Published at JOHANNESBURG

Date JUNE 16, 1948.

FREED MEN FETED AT O.B. DINNER

YOUNG men, wearing a uniform with a Sam Browne belt and Ossewa Brandwag armbands, stood guard at the door of the Afrikaner Koffiehuis, Pretoria, last night while the "Commandant-General" of the Ossewa Brandwag, Dr. J. F. J. van Rensburg, his "generals" and members of the movement entertained three of the five political prisoners who were released last week, to a dinner party. The three men were J. Visser, H. van Blerk and M. J. Pienaar.

A fourth released political prisoner—J. A. Strauss—was invited but did not attend.

Robey Leibbrandt, it was announced, had not been invited because he was not a member of the Ossewa Brandwag.

About 250 people attended. The principal speakers were Dr. Van Rensburg, Professor Dr. H. M. van der Westhuysen and Professor Dr. G. Cronje, of Pretoria University.

They were greeted with loud cheers, but the really tumultous cheering went up for the three men in whose honour the dinner was given.

Professor Van der Westhuysen introduced them one by one and the crowd sang "Long May They Live" amid loud applause.

The three men sat at the same table as Dr. and Mrs. Van Rensburg.

HOPES ERIC HOLM WILL BE RELEASED

Professor Van der Westhuizen thanked the Nationalist Government for releasing the five political prisoners and expressed the hope that "our friend Eric Holm," another political prisoner, would soon be released.

The crowd was asked to rise as a mark of sympathy for Eric Holm and his family.

Dr. Van Rensburg said that a great fuss had been made in the United Party Press about the releases from gaol of four Afrikaners by the Nationalist Government. The Ossewa Brandwag and the National Government were being accused of making heroes out of traitors, but in any struggle between two political ideologies there were bound to be some traitors .

"What must the Afrikaner expect if he fights for a republic? Not the O.B.E. surely, but imprisonment.

"But we will carry on the republican struggle and will not allow Jingoes to dictate to us how to treat men like these present here to-night. We are not anti-British but pro-Afrikaans.

"The only decent Government this country will ever have is when the Afrikaner has full say.

"No decent Afrikaner should question the motives that prompted these men to do what they did. They followed the dictates of their conscience. They acted like true Afrikaners."

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HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR AUSTRALIA
IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

NEWSPAPER EXCERPT

From THE FRIEND.

Published at BLOEMFONTEIN

Date 7TH JUNE 1948

O.B. and New Government

Dr Van Rensburg's Statement

PRETORIA, Sunday. — "The Ossewa-Brandwag regards the new Government in a spirit of goodwill," says a statement issued by Dr F. J. van Rensburg, Commandant-General of the organisation.

"As a movement we naturally stand outside it, and as an independent republican element we reserve our right of criticism," the statement continues. "It will be constructive criticism springing from goodwill such as would be proper among fellow Afrikaners.

"The presence of Mr Havenga in the Cabinet is the most obvious guarantee to all sections of the population of fair and equal treatment and that fairness will prevail.

"Meanwhile, the English-speaking South African must now realise that the path of Union Jack flag-wagging and unfairness towards Afrikaners, rampant for years, has finally, as a reaction, brought to power a Government with not a single English-speaking person in the Cabinet.

HERTZOG PATH

"We want to say openly that, in our opinion, it would have been better had both sections of the population been represented in the Cabinet. If English-speaking South Africans had remained on the Hertzog path, that would have happened. Their departure from it in 1939, and the way in which they acted subsequently towards the O.B., the Broederbond and the Reddingsdaadbond (even the Church was not exempt) has landed them in their present scrape.

"May this be a lesson that the 'Crown Colony complex' may be a double-edged sword.

"The O.B. can testify with thankfulness that it has come out of the past few weeks much stronger than when it went in. We look to the future with confidence."—SAPA.

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HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR AUSTRALIA
IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

NEWSPAPER EXCERPT

From RAND DAILY MAIL

Published at JOHANNESBURG

Date JUNE 4, 1948.

O.B. SAYS IT HELPED MALAN TO POWER

CAPE TOWN, Thursday.—Claiming that the Nationalist Party could not have won the election without the support of the Ossewa Brandwag, this week's "O.B.," the official journal of the organisation, states that in at least 10 constituencies where Nationalists were returned the O.B. vote was decisive.

Both the Ministers who were defeated (General Smuts and Major Piet van der Byl) contested seats where local truces with the O.B. existed, it says.

Three seats, Alberton, Nigel and Johannesburg West, were lost beyond any doubt because the candidates refused to enter into an agreement with the Ossewa Brandwag. In the Cape, Hottentots Holland was lost for the same reason.

Out of a total of 35 Nationalist Party candidates who concluded local political truces with the O.B. in their respective constituencies, 28 emerged victorious.

Commenting on the election editorially, the "O.B." contends that the foundation has now been laid for a greater national unity, which eventually will also embrace English-speaking South Africans.

"Only when we are able to rise above the petty family squabbles will the self-respect of the English-speaking South African enable him to come and live under our roof."—SAPA.

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